

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE
USDOCOSOUTH

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BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, GR, TU
SUBJECT: PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSION ON THE MONTREUX SUMMIT

REF: (A) ATHENS 2205 (NOTAL, (B) ATHENS 2154

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: A PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSION ON THE
MONTREUX SUMMIT WAS HELD YESTERDAY (MARCH 17). PRIME MINISTER
CARAMANLIS AND THE OTHER RECOGNIZED PARTY LEADERS ESSENTIALLY
BROKE LITTLE NEW GROUND IN THEIR STATEMENTS, ALTHOUGH PASOK'S
ANDREAS PAPANDREOU CAUSED A STIR WHEN HE QUOTED FROM AN ALLEGED
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CLASSIFIED TELEGRAM SENT BY THE DEPARTMENT IN 1976 TO EUROPEAN
POSTS GIVING GUIDANCE ON THE AEGEAN DISPUTE TO PUT THE U.S. IN A
BAD LIGHT. AS REPORTED BY SEPTELS (NOTAL), THE DOCUMENT WAS A FORGERY
.
CARAMANLIS CALLED THE SUMMIT A SUCCESS BECAUSE HE AND ECEVIT HAD
THE OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME PERSONALLY ACQUAINTED AND BECAUSE THE
RESULT WAS THE CREATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL TRUST. ALTHOUGH,

HE SAID, HE COULD NOT GO INTO THE DETAILS OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH ECEVIT, HE COULD SAY THAT HE HAD REITERATED THE GOG'S KNOWN POSITIONS ON THE KEY ISSUES OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF, THE AEGEAN AIRSPACE AND THE CYPRUS QUESTION. HE SAID THE CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE SHOULD BE SETTLED THROUGH NEGOTIATION WITH RECOURSE TO ARBITRATION IF NECESSARY

ON THE AIRSPACE QUESTION, HE CALLED FOR TURKEY TO WITHDRAW NOTAM 714 AND PROMISED IN RETURN THAT GREECE WOULD REOPEN THE AIR CORRIDORS. ARRANGEMENTS FOR MILITARY FLIGHTS COULD BE AGREED UPON IN A MANNER TO SAFEGUARD THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. ALL THE OPPOSITION SPEAKERS (PASOK'S PAPANDREOU, THE UDC'S ZIGDIS AND EDA'S ILIOU) ATTACKED CARAMANLIS' POLICIES AND WERE CRITICAL THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN MORE OPEN IN BRIEFING THE PARLIAMENT ON WHAT HAD ACTUALLY OCCURRED AT MONTREUX. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS OPENED THE DISCUSSION WITH A DEFENSE OF HIS REASONS FOR GOING TO MONTREUX TO MEET WITH HIS TURKISH COUNTERPART. THE MEETING HAD BEEN A SUCCESS, THE PRIME MINISTER STRESSED, SINCE HE AND ECEVIT HAD THE CHANCE TO GET ACQUAINTED AND BECAUSE A CLIMATE OF MUTUAL TRUST HAD DEVELOPED. BOTH EXPRESSED GOOD WILL AND THE DESIRE TO FIND PEACEFUL AND JUST SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS DIVIDING THE TWO COUNTRIES. CARAMANLIS EMPHASIZED THAT NEITHER SIDE, HOWEVER, HAD MADE ANY COMMITMENTS.

3. RESPONDING TO SOME OF PAPANDREOU'S REPEATED CRITICISMS BEFORE AND AFTER THE SUMMIT, THE PRIME MINISTER POINTED OUT THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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THE PASOK LEADER SEEMED OPPOSED TO ANY TALKS, EVEN WITH GREECE'S FRIENDS. CONTRARY TO PAPANDREOU'S CLAIM THAT THE MONTREUX SUMMIT WOULD LEAD TO A DEADLOCK AND THUS EVENTUALLY TO WAR OR TO GREEK CONCESSIONS, CARAMANLIS SAID THE AVOIDANCE OF A DIALOGUE WITH TURKEY COULD LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT.

4. THE PRIME MINISTER NOTED THAT PAPANDREOU HAD SAID THERE WAS NOTHING CONCERNING THE AEGEAN WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH TURKEY. EVEN IF THIS WERE THE CASE, ASSERTED CARAMANLIS, THE GOG COULD NOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT A PROBLEM EXISTED AND THE CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT WAS TRYING TO SOLVE IT. HOWEVER, IN DOING SO, THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERLINED, HIS GOVERNMENT WILL PROTECT GREEK INTERESTS TO THE FULLEST. AS TO ACCUSATIONS THAT THE SUMMIT WOULD CREATE THE PRECONDITIONS FOR THE LIFTING OF THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY, CARAMANLIS REMARKED THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS HAD ALREADY LINKED PROGRESS ON CYPRUS TO THE EMBARGO. THEREFORE, HE ARGUED, THE SUMMIT IS NOT GOING TO INFLUENCE THE CONGRESS' VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE.

5. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN TURNED TO SPECIFIC ISSUES IN GREEK-

TURKISH RELATIONS. REPEATING GREECE'S WELL-KNOWN POSITION CONCERNING SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF DISPUTE, HE REITERATED THERE SHOULD BE A SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE DIALOGUE BASED ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PRACTICE. AT THE SAME TIME, ANY PROVOCATIVE ACTS THAT MIGHT DISTURB THE DIALOGUE SHOULD BE AVOIDED. IF THE DIALOGUE FAILED, CARAMANLIS CONTINUED, THE DISPUTE COULD THEN BE SUBMITTED JOINTLY TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ) OR INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION. TURNING TO THE AEGEAN AIRSPACE, CARAMANLIS COMMENTED THAT TURKEY SHOULD RESCIND NOTAM 714. GREECE WOULD THEN REOPEN THE AIR CORRIDORS, HE PROMISED, AND THE ISSUE OF MILITARY FLIGHTS COULD BE SETTLED IN A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MANNER SAFEGUARDING THE SECURITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

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6. ON CYPRUS, THE PRIME MINISTER REITERATED THAT THE CYPRUS QUESTION WAS SEPARATE FROM PROBLEMS IN GREEK-TURKEY RELATIONS. HE SAID THAT THE CYPRUS QUESTION WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED BY THE CYPRIOTS THEMSELVES THROUGH THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNSYG, ALTHOUGH GREECE AND TURKEY COULD LEND THEIR GOOD OFFICES, IF REQUESTED BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES. FINALLY, HE EMPHASIZED ONCE MORE THAT GREECE FULLY SUPPORTED THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS.

7. ANDREAS PAPANDREOU, LEADER OF THE MAIN OPPOSITION PASOK PARTY, SPOKE NEXT. HE CRITICIZED CARAMANLIS, REMARKS, SAYING THEY HAD NOT OFFERED ANY MORE ENLIGHTENMENT ON WHAT HAPPENED AT MONTREUX THAN WHAT HAD BEEN WRITTEN IN THE PRESS. HE DISAGREED WITH CARAMANLIS ON TWO LEVELS WITH RESPECT TO FOREIGN POLICY: ONE WAS STRATEGIC, SPECIFICALLY "WE BELONG TO THE WEST," AND THE OTHER TACTICS, SUCH AS MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NOTHING TO DISCUSS WITH THE TURKS, AND APPEALING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF DISPUTE TO THE ICJ. SINCE IT WAS TURKEY WHICH WAS MAKING DEMANDS IN THE AEGEAN, CONTINUED PAPANDREOU, IT WAS THE GOT THAT SHOULD HAVE APPEALED TO THE ICJ AND NOT GREECE.

8. PAPANDREOU OBSERVED THE FOREIGN PRESS HAD REPORTED THAT AT MONTREUX PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAD APPROACHED CARAMANLIS AGAIN WITH PROPOSALS TO PARTITION THE AEGEAN OR FOR A CONDOMINIUM OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF. CARAMANLIS INTERJECTED TO DENY FLATLY THAT SUCH A PROPOSAL HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT THE SUMMIT.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5020
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERN
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9. PAPANDREOU REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT THE SUMMIT HAD NOT BEEN A MEETING MERELY TO ALLOW THE TWO LEADERS TO BECOME ACQUAINTED, BUT IMPLIED INSTEAD THAT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE. CARAMANLIS REFUTED THE ALLEGATION, POINTING OUT NO DECISIONS HAD BEEN MADE. PAPANDREOU AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO SUPPORT HIS CHARACTER THAT THE U.S. AND NATO WERE BEHIND THE MONTREUX MEETING AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAD PROBABLY TAKEN PLACE, READ FROM WHAT HE CALLED THE 1956 NATO CHARTER GOVERNING POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AND WHICH STATED THAT DISPUTES BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES SHOULD BE SETTLED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

10. PAPANDREOU THEN TABLED WHAT HE ALLEGED WAS A CONFIDENTIAL
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER SENT TO ALL EUROPEAN POSTS IN SEPTEMBER 1976 AS POLICY GUIDANCE ON THE AEGEAN DISPUTE. HE READ HIS OWN TRANSLATION OF THE DOCUMENT WHICH STATED THAT U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS SHOULD DETERMINE THE U.S. POSITION AND THAT FOR THE TIME BEING THE U.S. SHOULD ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND SUGGEST TO THE GOG THAT IT ADOPT A CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE (ATHENS 2206). THE PRIME MINISTER INTERJECTED

THAT THE GOG WAS UNAWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF THIS DOCUMENT. PAPANDREOU RESPONDED HE KNEW THAT; THE DOCUMENT HAD COME INTO HIS POSSESSION ACCIDENTALLY. IT SHOWED WHAT THE OBJECTIVES OF THE U.S., NATO AND OUR BIG ALLIES WERE. CARAMANLIS REBUTTED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE TELLS YOU WHERE GREECE IS HEADED. BUT, PAPANDREOU REPLIED, THERE IS A COINCIDENCE THEN BECAUSE WE ARE NOW ENAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS BRACKETS AS THE AMERICANS WANTED BRACKETS. HE THEN ASKED CARAMANLIS TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER OR NOT THE CABLE WAS GENUINE.

11. UNION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER (UDC) LEADER ZIGDIS ARGUED THAT THE GOG WAS NOT LEADING THE COUNTRY TOWARD PEACE AND NATIONAL UNITY. HE COMPLAINED THAT CARAMANLIS HAD BRIEFED ONLY PAPANDREOU (CARAMANLIS

, CLOSE ADVISOR, PETROS MOLIVIATIS, HAD BRIEFED PAPANDREOU PRIVATELY EARLIER IN THE WEEK) AND NOT ANY OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS. IN ANY CASE, ZIGDIS STATED, THE UDC DID NOT BELIEVE THAT CARAMANLIS SHOULD HAVE GONE TO THE SUMMIT SINCE TURKEY HAD NOT RESPECTED THE TERMS OF THE LAUSANNE TREATY. HE CONTINUED THAT CARAMANLIS HAD AGREED TO ATTEND THE SUMMIT ONLY IN THE FACE OF PRESSURE BY THE EC COUNTRIES WHICH HE HAD VISITED EARLIER. ZIGDIS CONCLUDED BY SUGGESTING THAT IN ORDER TO SHOW GREECE'S INDEPENDENCE, THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD ALSO GO TO MOSCOW.

12. THE LAST SPEAKER WAS ILIAS ILIOU, LEADER OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC LEFT (EDA). HE, LIKEWISE, COMPLAINED THAT ALL THE OPPOSITION PARTIES HAD NOT BEEN BRIEFED ON THE SUMMIT MEETING. UNCLASSIFIED

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IN REPLY TO TURKEY'S ACCUSATION THAT GREECE HAD FORTIFIED THE AEGEAN ISLANDS, ILIOU SAID GREECE WAS FORCED TO DO SO BY TURKISH AGGRESSIVE ACTS IN THE AREA. HE URGED THAT GREECE NOT RETURN TO NATO SINCE THAT ORGANIZATION WAS UNABLE TO PROTECT GREEK INTERESTS, BUT ONLY LOOKED TO THE THREAT FROM THE NORTH. ON CYPRUS, ILIOU SAID A JUST SOLUTION COULD ONLY BE FOJND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE TIME MIGHT BE RIGHT FOR OPENING THE CYPRUS FILE. FINALLY, ILIOU URGED THAT GREECE ABANDON THE SLOGAN "WE BELONG TO THE WEST" AND ADOPT A TRULY INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY.

13. COMMENT: THE ONLY REAL SURPRISE DURING THE PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSION WAS THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FORGED STATE DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM BY PAPANDREOU. OTHERWISE, ALL THE PRESENTATIONS WERE BASICALLY TEMPERATE AND LACKING IN THE ACRIMONY WHICH HAS SOMETIMES SURFACED IN THE PAST DURING EXCHANGES BETWEEN CARAMANLIS AND THE OPPOSITION. THUS, EACH SIDE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY ONCE AGAIN TO REVIEW FOR THE PUBLIC RECORD ITS BASIC POSITION ON THE KEY ISSUES IN GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS. MCCLOSKEY

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